marriages!

Aside from the reports of many villagers that such
584 are "embarrassing" and "uninteresting," we also have evidence that
597 there is a difference in the actual behavior of persons who have
593 made a sīm-pûa marriage. Men and women who have made such marriages
837 are more likely to seek extra-marital sexual satisfaction than people
831 who have married in other ways, and many men who have been forced to marry a sīm-pûa arrange their lives so as to avoid sexual contact with their wives for prolonged periods of time. One village man who married his foster sister was said to have slept with his wife only twice in some twenty years of marriage. According to one of his neighbors, "He often told me, 'I have only been at home two nights, and I have fathered two sons.'" Although this is undoubtedly an exaggeration of male vanity, it is apparently true that the man spent very little time with his wife. A woman with whom he lived for the last twelve years of his married life told us that "he only lived at home for a short time after he was first married. After that he never spent a night at home."

837 As is probably the case in every Chinese community, extra-marital
548 relations are not an uncommon aspect of the male's life in Hsiachichou. Every market town in the area has at least one or two brothels, and every hotel and inn also functions as a house of prostitution. From the very early years of their marriage, many men visit prostitutes as
583 frequently as their circumstances allow. What is of interest to us here
837 is that the frequency with which a man avails himself of these opportunities seems to be at least in part a function of the type of marriage he has made. During the course of our field work we attempted to record
! [i.e., sīm-pûa marriages -- Analyst]

involved two young women who formerly had been prostitutes. By comparison, we find at least 5 cases of adultery among the 23 women who married as sīm-pûà. It is also interesting to note that these breeches on the part of the women who married as sīm-pûà did not arouse the wrath of husbandly outrage. The expectation of most villagers is that the husband would beat and perhaps even kill a wife for committing adultery, but in none of these instances did the husband seem particularly concerned about the situation. Although it was well known in the village that the wife of one of these men had been having an affair with a neighbor for several years, the husband ignored the situation until he was finally forced to react by finding the couple *in flagrante delicto* in his own house. Perhaps sexual interest is a necessary condition of jealousy, and these husbands simply lacked such interest in their wives.

It would thus appear that the sexual relationship created by the sīm-pûà form of marriage is something less than satisfactory. The partners to such a marriage are more likely to seek sexual satisfaction outside of marriage, and men who have married in this way tend to avoid sexual relations with their wives. Perhaps this is because they come to regard one another as brother and sister, or perhaps their aversion to one another is a result of a psychological set created by their early and prolonged association. Whatever the reason it seems clear that the conditions of the sīm-pûà marriage create a sexual aversion which is not characteristic of the other two forms of marriage. Why is it that parties to the sīm-pûà marriage have always

#593
#583 had to be "pushed together", and why is it that young people refused
#831 to make such marriages as soon as they were in a position to do so?
152 The answer would seem to be simply the one they themselves give.
Such marriages are "uninteresting" and "embarrassing." To marry a man
or woman with whom one has lived from childhood is too much like
marrying a brother or sister. Such marriages lack the interest and
excitement of marriage with a person from another family, and to some
extent the idea of such a union may even arouse feelings of positive
revulsion.

#583 The two cases in which men born after 1910 did later marry their
#597 sīm-pûà tend to support rather than weaken this argument. Unlike the
other fourteen cases in which the young people refused to make a sīm-
pûà marriage, these two couples did not grow up as members of the same
household. In both cases the son was the offspring of a woman who had
married as a sīm-pûà, and the adopted daughter a child which the
husband had adopted while living with another woman. In one case the
future wife did not enter her husband's household until the time of
their marriage, and in the other they did not begin to live under the
same roof until the girl was seventeen years of age. Since it would
be impossible for the couple to marry if the girl was not thought of
as a sīm-pûà, the two marriages were both defined by the family and
by the couples themselves as sīm-pûà marriages. We therefore have in
these two cases instances of sīm-pûà marriages without the usual con-
ditions of early and constant association as brother and sister.
The fact that these were the only two sīm-pûà marriages among those

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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that, while the quarrels precipitated by women are often seen as the major causes of the disruption of Chinese families, it is to the brittle relationship between brothers that we must look for an understanding of why, in spite of the great pride taken in large families, they are nonetheless very rare. And in this connection it is worth glancing at the other large family in Peihotien. It consists of "a pair of surprisingly amiable brothers, both of whom work out of the village at well-paid jobs, leaving their two wives, ten children, unmarried sister, and mother in an ample village home. The two wives are so alike they could be sisters and they work together in effortless cooperation." Perhaps the wives are in harmony because the husbands are away from home.

The difficulties inherent in the fraternal relationship in China are illuminated by another aspect of this book. I have stressed the role of anthropology in it, but in fact Mrs. Wolf also writes from a psychological point of view, and her comments on the training of children show us, among other things, that the role of brother is so modified by the age of the incumbent that it presents a problem to those who must perform it. When brothers are children, the older must give way to the younger. When they are grown up, the younger must defer to the older. So that the tensions promoted by the rivalries built into the fraternal relationship would appear to be aggravated by the contradictory nature of the expectations aroused about the way in which brothers should ideally behave.

All these are major problems in the study of China, and what Mrs. Wolf says about Peihotien can be generalized to help us in our analysis of the family institutions of the country as a whole. No reader who is familiar with Chinese society will have any difficulty in making the jump from the particular to the general. But there is one matter dealt with in the book that, seeming to be peculiar to Taiwan, may appear to be inapt for generalization. Mrs. Wolf tells us that in the generation of Lim Chieng-cua's father nearly half the men in Peihotien married *simpua*, that is to say, little girls brought into the house in prospect of marriage to its sons. As "little daughters-in-law," *simpua* are given parents-in-law before they have husbands. Yet the institution is in fact known very widely in China, and it is only its extensive use in Taiwan that sets that island apart. Because the practice is to be found throughout China, we can profit from the analysis which Mrs. Wolf is able to make where the data are abundant. I suggest that we ought to pay particular attention to what she says about the sexual maladjustment to which *simpua* marriage

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

114 seems to give rise (boy and girl having been reared as though they were 584 brother and sister) and about the declining viability of the institution in [831] conditions where parents can no longer so decisively dictate the choice of marriage partners.

114 The material brought back from Peihotien by Professor and Mrs. Wolf is (as I can testify from my private knowledge of it) one of the treasures of the ethnography of China. As readers of this book we are afforded the opportunity to see the data on one family assembled to make both a case study and a story. The case study is no less literature than the story, and the story is not a whit less anthropological for being marvelously told. I shall risk being charged with greediness by saying that I hope that *The House of Lim* is merely the first of a long series of books to come from the study of Peihotien. That village is now an important feature of the scholar's map of China.

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3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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wife. Considering his prosperous independence, this step in itself was as exciting to the villagers as would have been the traditional return of erring sons in Confucian tracts on filiality.

Why did Lim Hue-lieng choose this way of publicly reinstating himself in his father's home? The least generous answer might be that at that particular moment he had need of a respectable tie, a semblance of a stable family background, and that his father had set the marriage as a formal act of contrition. Considering the nature of Hue-lieng's power, this seems unlikely. More likely his decision came from a growing maturity that allowed other elements of his personality to take precedence over his glowering independent pride. His respect for the traditional mores of his society had threaded its way through all of his *lo mua* activities, had prompted him to keep Hotien as the base for his life rather than to move into the gayer world of the city, and had maintained his loyalty to relatives and friends. He had rebelled against his father's domination, but in his own way he respected him. His rebellion had not altered his affection for his mother, nor for his younger brother, although the latter out of loyalty to his father was sometimes cold and hostile to Hue-lieng's overtures. And perhaps Lim Hue-lieng felt pity for the desolate future of A-pou if she had no position in the growing family beyond that of unmarried adopted sister.

Unlike the elaborate feasts and festivities that mark the marriage of two unrelated adults, the wedding of foster siblings is a quiet ceremony witnessed only by members of the family and perhaps a few other relatives. In recent years, this form of marriage has almost completely disappeared from Taiwan. Parents find in it many advantages, but the young people themselves loathe it. Nowadays when jobs outside the village give young men more bargaining power with their parents, they refuse to marry their foster sisters. Their objections are primarily to the sexual aspect of the union. In China, as in the West, sexual relations between siblings are forbidden. Sexual intercourse between two people who, though unrelated, have called themselves and behaved as brother and sister all their lives seems "wrong." The social technicality that condones such relations between foster siblings is not sufficient to overcome their revulsion. Since Lim Hue-lieng expected to continue his life in the outside world where "normal" sexual activity was readily available, perhaps the incestuous feelings that make such a marriage unbearable to others did not worry him.

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formal public statement of his eldest son's return to the status of son. A-pou was fond of her foster parents and saddened by the pain Lim Hue-lieng's desertion had caused them. If she refused the marriage, she would not only add to their pain but would also bring to an end the family's obligation to provide for her. To remain in their house under such circumstances would be unthinkable, but for a young woman of A-pou's temperament, the alternatives were too grim to be considered seriously. Where could she go, and how could she support herself and the daughter they had adopted for her—if indeed they allowed her to take the child with her? There were, after all, many advantages to the marriage. The simple ceremony making her a wife as well as a daughter-in-law would greatly improve her status both in the village and in the family itself. And, as the wife of the eldest son, she would have some control over her own future, particularly as the elder generations began to turn over their authority. Lim Hue-lieng's obvious indifference to her might even be an advantage since he would not be likely to remove her from his parents' home and protection. The abhorrence many adopted daughters feel toward coitus with their foster brothers may not have been as pronounced in A-pou's case. Lim Hue-lieng's long absence and the many romantic rumors circulating about his amorous exploits may have given him enough glamour to cloak if not destroy the familiarity that gives rise to feelings of incest. The security of being the eldest daughter-in-law in an increasingly prosperous family could make up for a great deal of what was lacking in the conjugal relationship.

Whether or not Lim A-pou weighed all these advantages and disadvantages, we have no way of knowing. Her decision may have been far simpler. The only respectable thing for a young woman to do in the first quarter of this century was to obey her parents, and A-pou's desire for respectability was, and still is, intense. It is the key to many of her present attitudes and was undoubtedly the motivation for much of her childhood docility. During my first few weeks in the Lim household, there were so many unfamiliar names to be attached to unfamiliar faces that I resorted to descriptive nicknames in conversations with my husband and staff. Lim A-pou was dubbed "the old lady." When I finally sorted out ages and names and relationships, I was amazed to find that she was not quite fifty years old. Unlike every other village woman her age, Lim A-pou wears the old-fashioned Chinese costume and hair style only seen now on Taiwanese women

562 easily earn more by working in the fields. In spite of
465 the fact that, on the average, the total amount earned between the age of 15 and marriage at 22 would be higher in the fields than in the factory, most girls prefer work in the factory.

562 Villagers view the phenomena of females working in
831 factories with mixed emotion. They like the cash the girl
829 earns and have even exerted some pressure to delay mar-
882 riage in order to retain the economic advantage. Yet,
[582] there are fears that the girls will learn improper behavior
[369] in the factory such as city ways and will surely have freer relationships with boys that may lead to sexual intercourse as demonstrated by a couple of girls who got pregnant and, for example, by the fact that the only single girls who
562 wear make-up, all work in the factories. There is also
581 recognition of the basic lack of opportunity for sufficient
829 socialization into the role of village wife. Is the former
882 factory girl going to adjust when she marries or more im-
562 portant, will she even want to? Tea farmers see that few
829 younger girls are being trained to replace the older fe-
882 males whose work is so important.

562 Finally, the family loses some control over a girl
882 who works in a factory because she can easily move to one
593 of the dormitories if her home life is unsatisfactory. Thus, some of her wages must be expended on her personal expenses and clothes as well as some saved for her dowry.

553 name may be unique, may be designed to complement the given name, or may reflect a family situation, i.e., it may indicate generation by use of the poem described in Chapter V or it may be merely common to all one man's offspring, different for boys and girls.

551 789 Names alone can usually be used to distinguish sex although there are some which overlap. Names have magical powers too such that a good name may foster desired qualities such as kung, wisdom. Previously described was the name given to a girl such as "last daughter" to break a chain of girls. Also if a couple has lost several children, a "dirty" name such as "idiot pig" may be given so the child will be unattractive to the gods. Names may be selected by the family or may be selected in consultation with specialists at the temple.

846 [783] After man yueh, the woman is free to leave the house and resume her duties. Her bedroom, which has been "ritually unclean" by virtue of the birth in addition to its general untidiness will have a thorough cleaning the day after the baby's presentation. Sexual intercourse is expected to be 846 834 831 resumed that night so the husband will be teased about this resumption by his close male friends, particularly by his sworn brothers. His siblings or parents are not likely to ever comment on his sexual activities. Only an old woman is likely to make a suggestive remark in public about his

resumption of sex and the situation will be considered very funny.

Babies

There are few formal stages during the early years of growth. Between man yueh and entering school at age 6, only the first birthday is recognized formally and that is not celebrated by many people although more often for boys than girls. When it is celebrated, it may range from an elaborate meal to mere giving an egg to the child in order to promote long life. Informal divisions include such as "in the arms," "toddler," "baby," or "child" but there is little agreement as to when they commence and the terms are non-exclusive.

Children are raised very permissively. Breast feeding lasts two years or longer on a demand basis so that every time a baby fusses or cries he is offered the breast. Mothers breast-feed their own children and occasionally the children of others. A grandmother offers her breast to a child as a kind of pacifier as any woman will give the breast even when dry, to a child as old as seven or eight who is sick or frightened. Most of the time feeding is offered while in a sitting or standing position. Although the breast is an object for sexual foreplay, there is no immodesty connected with feeding a baby in public.

Houses are crowded together and the rooms are small and not private so that aside from some work in the fields, a resident is rarely alone.

888 great quantities of respect. Rules for behavior are greatly relaxed and many can now do things younger people are not [562] permitted. Old women attend meetings which are normally for [276] males and some smoke for enjoyment only while women under 60 who smoke make an excuse that it is necessary for a par- 888 ticular affliction, "an itchy nose." Old women are the 562 • 831 ones who talk "dirty" and act as the village clowns and 561 teasers. Up to age 35, females tend to be extremely shy in 552 public but once past 60, they are the most aggressive. I was sitting in front of the village store in a group one day while four young married girls were washing clothes across the street in a bent-over position. A woman of 80 nudged me and in a loud voice exclaimed, "That girl over there is waving it at you. Go over and stick her!" She and the other old women laughed loudly as several men smiled or snickered but the girls blushed deeply (as I did) and pretended we were not there. When an old woman in a social group clears her throat preparing to speak, others stop talking and listen intently, expecting to be amused.

527 If the first digit is even for the tenth year birth- 561 888 day, the occasion is more important.[7] The 70th birthday is recognized and has a special name of chung shou (middle longevity). Cards will be sent and there will be a family party but not many guests come. On the other hand, the eightieth birthday, shang shou (high longevity), is the next big occasion, but for males and females alike. In addition to the big party and monetary gifts, cards will